1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[4] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[4]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P.383, A]

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 ●622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains Tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 527 791 With the death of Captan Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It [756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

community, although a few men were respected and listened to more than others. Men like the Captain Jims, Captain Pete, and Captain George, who were spokesmen to the Whites in historic time, undoubtedly had a rather wide influence in their geographical locales. D'Azevedo (personal communication) regards Gumalanga, the Washo spokesman called "Captain Jim" who traveled to Washington D.C. to appeal for the pinenut lands, as a rare instance of a person who acquired a degree of tribal-wide acceptance as a leader in late historical times. 622 [648]

Fifteen Washo Households

The household, defined as the people who regularly occupy a single galis dangal has been described as the most important social and economic grouping in aboriginal Washo society. The composition of 15 galis dangal are presented below with the number of occupants in parentheses. Hank Pete was the informant for all but the first one, which was given by Susie Dick. 592 596

Mountain House around 1885.

1. (11) Susie Dick, her mother (Sally), father, mother's sister (Maggie), mother's sister's husband (Big Johnny), mother's sister's son (Sosh Angl), and daughter, and Susie's four brothers (Charlie, Johnny, George, and Hansen Pete).

Carson Valley around 1895.

2. (5) Dabashaygudi (Jim Pitchwood, Hank Pete's "uncle"), his wife, son, wife's mother, and his wife's "cousin-brother". Jim Pitchwood was a good hunter with his muzzel-loader shotgun.

3. (8) Captain Pete, his wife, son (Hank Pete), daughter, father's mother and one of her sons and two of her daughters. This was just after the family moved from near the cemetary in Carson City, when Hank Pete's brother died, and built in back of the slaughter house by Dangberg's Home Ranch back of Gardnerville where there is a good spring. The family later moved to Truckee following the marriage of Hank Pete's sister to George Howard.

4. (5) D¢dip¢ki¢s, his wife, sister, wife's brother, and a non-related w¢lm¢lti or North Indian. They were all w¢lm¢lti.

Double Spring Flat around 1900.

5. (7) Clara Frank, her step-father (Captain Jim or Gumalanga), mother, mother's sister, mother's brother and his wife, and Clara's brother (Mike Holbrook).

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [121]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Daws Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (stabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢sht) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabey?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wapuléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply to Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

[P. 353, B]

hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ʔid·ge). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

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The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

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[124]

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

428]
[611]
[764]

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

611 428 423 [763] [785] 622 [643] [178] 624 324 [756] 611 428 424 551 581

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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1890, was joined by the Bannock and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticised view of Indian behavior.

The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105

Washo NT20
Mohomavi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ko	Ye	Yo	Ya	Ow	pi	Im	Tg	Wd	Ll	Al
2140. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2144. For rabbit drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2145. For antelope drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2148. For pine-nut trip	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs (wohowvi or wuiwvi)														
2149. Head chief (tuvia[-wuiwvi] (leader of named and localized group)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2151. Community approval required	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2153. Chief's counselor (nevivuiwwa)	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	-
2154. Chief's messenger	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagava wuiwvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2156. For rabbit drive (kamawuiwvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2157. For antelope drive (tamawuiwvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (wuipawuiwvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2159. For fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Head owned hunting territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2166a. Head owned valley in which lived	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2166. Head owned pine-nut territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Head owned fishing streams	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2168. Disputes settled by fight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	-
2170. Family owned fishing places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2171. Chattels all privately owned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2171. All destroyed at death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2173a. Cold springs public	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2173b. Hot springs public	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2174a. Protection only	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-
2175. Warfare rare	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	-
2176. War ritual	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2177. Captives	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2178. Valuables, stuffed, for slave (sex, gambling)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	o
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Burned willow house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180a. Regular house	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2182. Ground burned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o

[p.407]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606

2089. Paviotso: * (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tuvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Ki: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). To: He tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MM). MM once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: * (Curtis, 80).

N [841]

2100. GM: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KE).

N [787]

2110. Ki: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462

2136. To: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622

2141. Owens Valley: * (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [121]

2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [122]

2150. Wa: * (Smith, notes).

N 634 535

2156. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, teraviaoya, were old-time dance

captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tb: Band chief acted as captain of rabbit drive.

2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i'-nd'ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

2160. Wa: Head-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

2162. Wa: * (see note Z142; Curtis, 96).

PROPERTY

2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying 'my home town,' or 'my favorite fishing stream' (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

2166a. Pa: IW said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tb: The Ttvusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

2172b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). Kl: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. Wa: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute